

Town Meeting



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

Whom Should the Democrats Nominate for President?

Acting Moderator, H. V. KALTENBORN

Speakers

ELLIS GIBBS ARNALL

FRANCIS J. MYERS

BEN T. LANEY

MAX LERNER

(See also page 13)

COMING

—June 22, 1948—

Are You Preparing To Grow Old
Successfully?

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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



JUNE 15, 1948

VOL. 14, No. 8

Whom Should the Democrats Nominate for President?

Announcer:

Tonight we welcome you to Harrisburg, in the Pennsylvania Dutch country, where we are the guests of the Evans F. Carlson Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee and Station WHGB. Famous for its capitol dome, the beautiful Pennsylvania turnpike, and the twist of its pretzels, Harrisburg is the crossroads of the state. A converging point for railroads, buses, airlines, it's the heart of distribution for steel products, machinery, and foodstuffs.

Aside from these practical considerations, this thriving city on the Susquehanna River supports a community theater, a symphony orchestra, an art association, and many other civic organizations. Since 1946, the American Veterans Committee here has made its contribution by educating its members to their responsibilities as citizens first, and veterans second. And so tonight we ask you to join with

the good people of Harrisburg in a little crystal gazing on the Democratic chances for next November.

And now, to preside over our discussion, pinch-hitting for Mr. George V. Denny, Jr., is our moderator, the dean of American news analysts, Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn. Mr. Kaltenborn. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Kaltenborn:

Good evening, everybody. I'm glad to give my friend, George Denny, a chance for a brief rest in the Colorado mountains before his regular vacation in August. Getting four speakers on up-to-the-minute topics in 26 different cities each spring and summer is a job I wouldn't care to tackle. I'd almost rather do all the talking myself.

Last week in Denver, George Denny conducted a program which featured advocates of five prominent candidates for the Republican

nomination. The Democratic party has only one man who is making a fight for the nomination. This is the man now in the White House who seeks re-election on his record as president. Has it been a good record? Has it carried forward the Roosevelt policies? These are questions we must expect our speakers to answer.

Harry Truman leads a divided party. Some of its New Deal elements are following the banner of Henry Wallace. Some of its more conservative elements have raised the banner of anti-Truman revolt in the South. Perhaps our question tonight ought to be phrased, "Should the Democrats Nominate Harry S. Truman for President?" for it is that question to which our distinguished panel will address itself.

Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania and ex-Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, will take the affirmative. Governor Ben T. Laney of Arkansas and Max Lerner of New York City will speak for the negative. But the negative has a difficult task. They must first show that it would be unwise to nominate Truman, and then present a candidate willing to run upon whom the convention could conceivably agree.

But let us launch our discussion by hearing from the United States Senator from our host state, just chosen to help draft the Democratic platform, the Honorable

Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania. Senator Myers. (*Applause.*)

Senator Myers:

Mr. Kaltenborn, I'm for Truman. And I'm for Truman because I sincerely believe that in every essential he is following the Roosevelt program and supporting the Roosevelt goals, and I am prepared to prove it tonight.

No, Truman is not a Roosevelt. He does not have the golden voice, the fascinating charm, the incredible genius of his predecessor. But we need in the presidency today, above all else, a man who stands for those things which we who believed in and who love Roosevelt consider most important to America—a man who stands for real and effective international cooperation against aggression and for peace, and for full political and economic democracy. And President Truman is such a man.

And he has proved himself. We know where he stands. We know where he stands on every essential issue. He has made his record in the Senate and in the White House and it's a good record. It's a liberal record. It's a courageous record—a record which the Democratic party can run on with pride—a record on which the Democratic party can win and will win this November.

By and large, it's a record of courageous, effective, international cooperation—a record which

flects vision in foreign policy affairs, a record which reflects guts and intestinal fortitude, a record which stand four-square with all the basic reforms of the New Deal.

Those in our party who oppose President Truman are divided roughly into two classes. There are, first, those who opposed Roosevelt for the very same reasons they now oppose Truman. Governor Laney's ideal Democratic presidential nominee, as I gather it, would be an anti-civil rights Republican — some one like Joe Martin of Massachusetts, provided he was against any civil rights legislation at all.

And to this group I would say only this: any Democratic nominee who did not share the Roosevelt-Truman philosophy on civil rights and the Roosevelt-Truman philosophy of economic democracy, not only couldn't win the election in the enlightened America of today, but couldn't, if he were elected, carry out our universally accepted American program for world peace. True world peace depends upon the spreading of liberty and of human decency and of human rights all over the globe, and we could hardly advocate them elsewhere and not here at home in America.

And the second large group of anti-Trumanites consists of those politicians and confused liberals who fear that without glamour,

without carnival, and without pageantry in a candidate, the Democratic party cannot win. And that's why we have people like Mr. Lerner and some of the so-called hardheaded politicians, running around searching frantically for a miracle man to nominate for the presidency.

Are the American people children, babes in the political woods? No, of course not, for I believe that they have grown up. Politically, they are mature. They have learned in these past two years, as they never learned before, that the Government of the United States affects them directly, personally and constantly. They have learned that the prices they must pay for necessities, their very lives and safety, their children's education, and their opportunities for decent jobs and full employment depend upon the sort of administration and the kind of a Congress which they have in Washington.

And when the President is accused of not having expanded our social reforms these past two years, he is accused unfairly, because I know from personal knowledge of the day-to-day battle in Congress that this Republican Congress has had as its mission the repeal, either directly or indirectly, of the whole New Deal.

Our so-called bipartisan foreign policy has been effective only because President Truman has

stood by his principles and has, by sheer force of justice and uprightness convinced the minority of the Republicans in the Congress to go along with him.

On domestic policy, he has been hammering away at this Congress consistently and continually for housing for the veterans, for slum clearance, for social security expansion, for health insurance, for curbs on inflation, for allocation and rationing powers, where necessary.

Of course, he hasn't gotten those things, my friends. I say flatly that with a Congress elected in '46 by a minority of the people, Franklin Roosevelt would have had the same success. I *know* he would have had the same success. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Kaltenborn:

Thank you, Senator Myers. The revolt of the Southern Democrats against President Truman on his civil rights program is no secret. Our next speaker is chairman of the Committee of Southern Governors which opposes President Truman on civil rights. It is fitting, therefore, that we hear from Governor Ben T. Laney of Arkansas. Governor Laney. (*Applause.*)

Governor Laney:

I oppose the nomination of President Truman. We *do* know where he stands.

First, I submit that his work as

an administrative and executive officer has been weak. Let me ask you, Senator Myers, what great questions have been settled since he became president? Has the international atmosphere become clearer? We are very far from world peace and understanding today.

Is the American economic situation more stable? We have inflation, more government spending, higher taxes, an enormous national debt, and less confidence in the mind of the businessman. Do we have a dependable program in the matters of national defense—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Forces?

No proposal of his would settle strikes. We have labor disputes and we have labor unrest. Why has there been a complete disregard for States' rights in his recommendations in matters like the civil rights question and the tidelands question? Vote-baiting is the answer. His leadership has not promoted the unity of our people. I'll leave it to you as to whether or not he has fumbled the ball too much since becoming president in April, 1945.

Second, I do not like a great deal that he stands for. He favors definitely full employment, bonus for not working. He favors the passage of FEPC which means Federal control of housing, health, travel, labor, law enforcement, employer and employee, and elec-

tions. All this was tried in the South during the reconstruction period. It failed.

He favors high taxes, a big budget, and obviously a big public debt, for certainly his proposals made in his first peace message and in the recent messages, if adopted, would add billions in new taxes. He favors the partition of Palestine. This junks the Monroe Doctrine and can lead to war.

He favors the theory of governmental assistance to almost everybody: Less work and more pay; spend ourselves into prosperity. He favors centralization of government and more government controls. FEPC means that very thing, and he knows that. The proposed civil rights program would build discord and strife, as is already shown by the actions and statements of Randolph, Reynolds, and Robeson.

He is not democratic. If so, he would be willing to submit the civil rights program to the people by amendment to the Constitution rather than by directive or by questionable legislation. He is politically dictatorial. He favors purging those in his party who disagree with him as shown by his attitude in the Slaughter case recently. He favors his own nomination in Philadelphia and his own election to the presidency. Contrary to what Mr. Arnall may say, I hold the opposite view on

most of the foregoing questions.

Third, his nomination means, in my opinion, certain defeat for the Democratic party in November, perhaps the permanent destruction of the party, for he would not be a strong candidate. As president, he has not been able to hold the party together, to work with Congress effectively, to unify the people of America, or to provide the leadership needed in the difficult international situation.

He is probably doing the best he can, but he is doped with political ambitions and misguided by political dopes. He has been an easy target for those whose vision and mission it is to process the human race in one mold and make everybody possess the same creed, color, aspirations and intelligence. This cannot be done. This should never be done.

I favor the nomination of a man possessing quality and leadership who will uphold the doctrine of States' rights, a strict interpretation of the Constitution, freedom from unnecessary governmental controls in business, protection of the liberty and freedom of the individual, the preservation of opportunity for all to live and work in harmony and peace.

This man should have thorough and sound knowledge of international and national military, economic, social and political affairs. He must have ability, influence, strength, and conviction. He must

be able to place the welfare of his country above the welfare of himself or that of his political party. I do not believe Mr. Truman can do this because of his past political training, practices, and experiences.

I want to see the Democratic party take the lead now to keep America strong, rugged, vigorous, and democratic. I recommend the nomination of any Democrat, tried, true, capable and willing to go all-out to save America from the vicious infiltration and adoption of untried, tainted, discolored proposals designed to remake the American way of life. For these reasons, I oppose the nomination of President Truman. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Kaltenborn:

Thank you, Governor Laney. Our next two speakers are both described as liberals. One is from the South, the other from the North. Like Senator Myers and Governor Laney, they differ on the nomination of President Truman.

Former Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia has just written a book called "What the People Want." Governor Arnall, will you tell us why you think the people want Harry Truman? Governor Arnall. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Arnall:

Well, actually, the question is: "Whom Must the Democrats Nominate for President to Ensure Winning the 1948 Election?" It is not a question of whom we per-

sonally might prefer. We must be realistic and we must be practical. We must not engage in wishful thinking. It is essential that we deal with realities.

It makes no difference which candidate is nominated by a political party if the object is to have him defeated. But the Democrats want their candidate to win and if we do, we must nominate President Truman. If we do not we are in the position of repudiating our own party's record in government—the platform on which it won its victories in '32, '36, '40 and in '44.

If the Democrats do not nominate Truman, we reject the practical advantage of having at the head of the Democratic ticket the man whom the convention chose in 1944 as the running mate for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yes, if we do not nominate Truman, we will be forced to reorganize our entire party machinery, and, in effect, set up a new political party in the United States.

The time between now and the convention and between the convention and the election prevents the necessary build-up of any available candidate in place of Truman. President Truman succeeded the greatest United States president. He took office at a critical moment during wartime. He has made a good record as President despite the sudden shift toward reaction in our country that resulted from

the small turnout of voters in the Congressional election of 1946.

President Truman is not responsible for the low quality of legislation emanating from the Congress which is in complete control of the opposition party. Truman's conduct of foreign affairs has been marked with occasional mistakes, it is true, but it has been a fundamentally sound policy, and it has pleased most Americans. It has been a successful policy by effectively checking the spread of communism and curtailing Russia's aggression.

Had the Republican Congress shown the same interest for the little man as did Truman, balancing the family budget would not cause as many sleepless nights, inflation would be controlled, and Americans would have roofs over their heads. Truman has consistently opposed monopoly with vigor and with courage.

I have disagreed with many details of his program, both international and domestic, but the over-all aspects of those by which he is entitled to be judged have been the policies of an honest, a sincere, and a courageous man.

Let me again call attention to the fact that two groups, intensely dissimilar, are opposed to the Truman nomination. One, represented by Max Lerner, is homesick for the days of the New Deal. I understand their feeling. Generally, their views on policies coincide

more closely with my own than do those of President Truman. But they are overlooking the political realities of the situation.

They are forgetting the fundamental lesson that Franklin D. Roosevelt taught them out of his own knowledge that you must win elections in order to carry out policies. Certainly the Truman policies are nearer to their own than any program promulgated by Joe Martin or by Joe Pew. (*Applause.*)

The other group, headed by Governor Laney, condemns Truman because of his so-called civil rights recommendations. They lead the Southern revolt and carry the banner of States' rights, but they should also carry the banner of State responsibilities. In common fairness, Truman should not be condemned because of one mistake. While I know that tolerance and understanding cannot be achieved by mere legislation, I also know that many active in the Southern revolt in opposition to Truman also opposed Roosevelt, and that there are others in it who are Republicans at heart and who want the Democratic party destroyed.

President Truman demonstrated his friendship for the South when he courageously vetoed the Congressional measure which would have exempted the transportation monopoly from the anti-trust laws and which would have effectively shackled the economy of the South.

Yes, the truth of the matter is that only a united Democratic party can win, and it can be united only on the record that it has made in office. The Truman record as President will be the issue in the campaign, whoever may be the candidate. The man best qualified to defend that record is the man who made it. If the Democrats want to win, we will have to win with the candidate we have. Harry S. Truman is that candidate. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Kaltenborn:

Thank you, Governor Arnall. Well, Max Lerner, we've saved you for the last. I have often shared this platform with Max Lerner, and I'd rather fight him than "chairman" him. He is equally vigorous as champion or opponent. His next book is well named, "Actions and Passions." Tonight he will tell us why the Democrats should not nominate Harry Truman. Mr. Lerner. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Lerner:

As I listened to my good friend, Ellis Arnall, it was obvious to me that his heart just isn't in it. As a good Democrat, he's a good soldier, and he has honorably done his duty. He talks about realism, but his heart just isn't in it.

He says that it isn't a matter of personal preference. He says that it's not a case of getting the ideal man that we want. That does

not seem to me to be an example of enthusiasm.

And as for Senator Myers, I assure you, Senator Myers, my case isn't just a case of wanting glamour, or pageantry, or carnival, as you put it. That isn't what we want. What we want is leadership, and great leadership of a great nation in a great time. And we can get it. (*Applause.*)

Now let me make my position very clear about Governor Laney and myself. Any similarity in our position is purely coincidental. (*Laughter and applause.*) We're strange bedfellows. The grounds on which we oppose President Truman are very different.

But this fact in itself has great meaning. It shows that the President has blundered so badly that he has managed to alienate not only the die-hard Southerners who are against civil rights, but also the pro-civil rights groups, in which I count myself—the independent labor and liberal people who did make up most of F.D.R.'s following.

Now, who wants Harry Truman nominated? The most passionate hope comes from the bosses and the candidates of the Republican party. They know that once he's nominated, they can shoot him down like a sitting duck.

The second group is the new party of Henry Wallace and his cohorts. They're panting to have Harry Truman nominated because

that's the only real chance they have of building up a sizable vote.

The third group is made up of the inner White House strategists, who want Truman because they're hungry for their bread and butter. Now notice I don't count either Ellis Arnall or Senator Myers in this group. They're loyal, liberal Democrats. They have their own sincere reasons for wanting Truman. I think their reasons are wrong, and I don't think there are many like them.

Now, can President Truman be elected? Even on Arnall's own ground, on Governor Arnall's own ground—that he's the only man that can be elected—I say he couldn't be elected unless the Republicans were charitable, charitable enough to give him the election by nominating their weakest candidate in vote-getting, a man like Taft, Bricker, or Joe Martin. (*Applause.*) The polls all show that.

Now, would he make a good president? For that we don't need any polls. We need only the history of the last three years. He has not made a good president. Oh, his impulses are good. He means well. He's mildly liberal, but he has betrayed the New Deal tradition, he has blundered, and he has been weak putty in the hands of the men who surround him.

Where do we go from Truman? Here, Senator Myers says that I'm

homesick for the New Deal. Yes, I am. I'm homesick for a man who believes in New Deal policies all the time, not just on a Western trip before a political convention, but all the time. (*Applause.*) That man, to me, is a justice in the United States Supreme Court called William O. Douglas. (*Applause.*)

Douglas was a first-rate administrator for SEC. He's a great judge, and he's going to be a great president if the convention knows enough to nominate him. He believes deeply in democracy. He believes so deeply in it that he believes the solution to our world problems is more democracy, not less. He believes deeply in freedom—so deeply that he's against thought-control as practiced by the reactionaries of both parties.

My second answer, if Douglas won't be nominated, is a man called Ike. I don't have to tell you about Ike. As for what he thinks, I've read every one of his printed words and I can tell you he has a mind which is in ferment, a mind which is deeply believing in democracy, and one which has a horror of war. I don't know his views on everything, and I do say he's a gamble, but I'll say one thing. Truman, Taft, Dewey, Stassen, Martin, Warren, Vandenberg—they aren't even gambles. We know all too well what they're like.

I don't feel any bitterness about President Truman. In many ways,

he's better than the whole assortment the Republicans are offering us. He is better than Dewey, the G-man, who wants to lead the people, but is always several steps behind them; better than Stassen, whose idea of liberalism is to outlaw political thinking he doesn't like; better than Vandenberg, who's exactly like Truman on foreign policy and a lot worse on domestic; better than Taft, who's one of the great minds of the nineteenth century (*laughter*); better than Warren, who's a weak version of Dewey; and better than Joe Martin, whose views are so ancient that he makes all the rest look like streamlined models of the future. (*Laughter.*)

But while Truman is good in comparison with them, he isn't good enough. He isn't good enough to win, and he isn't good enough to carry in a Democratic congress, and I believe with Senator Myers that the next man who runs this country ought to run it with a Democratic congress. That man is the only one who can unite the party, and that's one of the two men whom I have talked about. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Kaltenborn:

Thank you, Max Lerner.

Now, gentlemen, I'm going to follow George Denny's procedure by creating a sort of barber shop quartet formation around the microphone, and I'm going to ask

you, gentlemen, that you do not let your remarks at this time exceed one minute, and that you don't rush to the microphone until the chairman has had a chance to identify you to the radio audience. Well, we'll start with Senator Myers.

Senator Myers: Max, I understand that you believe that Truman has alienated all of the liberals like yourself. What do you people believe in, other than generalities? Did you believe that Truman should have vetoed the tax bill, that he should have vetoed the Taft-Hartley Bill?

Do you believe with Truman that there should have been real rent control, that we should try to correct inflation? Did you believe in legislation to regulate prices if they're getting out of hand? Did you believe with Truman on the Marshall Plan? Did you believe with Truman on social security? Did you believe with Truman that we should have a real housing bill?

Did you believe that we should have some health legislation? Did you believe in a strong defense, as Truman did? Did you believe in flood control and reclamation projects as Truman did? Did you believe in civilian control of atomic energy, as Truman did?

Did you believe that we should stop the gas grab, as Truman did? What is it that Truman hasn't

done that you believe that he should have done, and do you believe in all of those things that Truman has advocated through this Congress?

Mr. Kaltenborn: Senator, that calls for such a long speech on the part of Mr. Lerner that I'm going to let him try to condense it in his one minute when his turn comes. But before I call on Max, we'll give him a few minutes to

ponder these inquiries. Gee, what a list. (*Laughter.*) And I'm going to ask Governor Laney to talk to us for a moment.

Governor Laney: I disagree with Governor Arnall that the principal matter to consider is whether a nominee can win or not. I believe the seriousness of the times requires more thought than this. I believe it is a specific obligation of both party leader-

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

ELLIS GIBBS ARNALL — Governor of Georgia from 1943 to 1947, Mr. Arnall has become one of the most dramatic, most progressive, and most successful political leaders in the history of his state.

Member of a family which made its wealth in the cotton textile industry, Mr. Arnall was born in Newnan, Georgia, in 1907. His college career started at Mercer University in Macon, continued at University of the South at Sewanee, where he received his B. A. degree, and at the University of Georgia where he received his degree in Law.

Back home in Newnan, Ellis Arnall hung out his law shingle, but he soon got interested in politics and was elected to the state legislature. From 1933 to 1937, he was speaker pro tem of the House of Representatives. In 1937, he was appointed assistant attorney general, and in 1939 became attorney general. In 1943, he became Governor at the age of 35, the youngest governor in the country at that time.

Mr. Arnall's book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, a study of conditions in the South, has become a best-seller. His latest book, *What the People Want*, is just off the press.

BEN T. LANEY—The Honorable Ben T. Laney was born in Smackover, Arkansas, in 1896. After taking an A.B. degree at Arkansas State Teachers College, he took graduate work at the University of Utah. Beginning as a teacher, he has since engaged in various businesses, including farming banking, retail drugs, motor finance, real estate, timber, oil and gas leases and investments.

From 1935-39 he was mayor of Camden, Arkansas, and in 1944 was elected governor of his home state.

MAX LERNER—An author and educator, Max Lerner is chief editorial writer for PM. Born in Minsk, Russia, in 1902, he was brought to this country when he was five years old. He received an A.B. from Yale in 1923 and then continued to study law there for a year. In 1925, he received his A.M. from Washington University in St. Louis, and in 1927, his Ph.D. from Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government in Washington.

Mr. Lerner served as assistant editor and later as managing editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. From 1932 to 1936, he was a member of the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College. He has been on the faculty of the Summer Institute at Wellesley, a lecturer in government at Harvard, and from 1938 until 1943 was professor of political science at Williams College. For two years he was editor of *The Nation*.

The author of several books including *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes*, Mr. Lerner's next book, *Actions and Passions*, will be published next fall.

FRANCIS J. MYERS—Senator Myers was born in Philadelphia in 1901. He holds an A.B. degree from St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, and a LL.B. from Temple University and is also the recipient of honorary LL.D. degrees from these two schools and St. Vincent's College in Latrobe.

Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1927, Senator Myers took up the law practice in Philadelphia. In 1937-39 he served as deputy attorney general for Pennsylvania. He was a member of the 76th, 77th and 78th Congresses. A member of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee, Senator Myers' term runs till January, 1951.

ships to offer to the people the best man possible.

I do not believe that President Truman meets these requirements. I do not believe that President Truman can win at all. The South will not support him. He cannot win without the South's vote. I would prefer to lose an election for the right principle than to win an election with the wrong man. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: Governor Arnall, will you say something?

Mr. Arnall: I disagree very violently with Governor Laney when he says the South will not support Truman in the general election. It will. That is my prediction. You wait and see.

Now the other thing I want to say is to show how utterly impossible it is for these distinguished friends, Governor Laney and Max Lerner, to get together on a candidate, leaving aside Eisenhower, who is a dream man and who is unavailable. I want them here and now to give me a list of three candidates on whom they can agree to supplant Truman. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: Well, Max, that seems to put it up to you.

Mr. Lerner: First of all, you don't need three in order to win an election. You need one. I wouldn't want to be limited only to the candidates that Governor Laney and I could agree on.

I also don't think we ought to eliminate General Eisenhower.

Ellis Arnall may have a pipeline to the General's mind. I don't. He may know that he's unavailable. I don't, and the nation doesn't. I would say definitely that General Eisenhower is one of the men who is available, and I think that even Governor Laney and I could agree on him.

The first man of my choice that I have given is not, I think, one whom Governor Laney would agree on, and that's Justice Douglas.

I'd like a chance, Mr. Moderator, to answer Senator Myers, if I may. He had a very forbidding and imposing list of President Truman's virtues and achievements that he hurled at me and he did it eloquently and passionately, and I like that, and I want to say that, by and large, that list is the reason why I said in the closing remarks in my speech that compared with most of the Republicans, President Truman is a giant. That's why I prefer him infinitely to the record that the Republicans have made.

But that isn't enough, and may I indicate, Senator Myers, a few things. President Truman has been talking about public hydro-electric power out in the West. Yet on the concrete issue that he has had a chance to support, the Missouri Valley Authority, he did not put any pressure behind it.

He's been talking about the importance of the United Nations

Yet on the biggest, single crucial test of the survival of the U.N., the question of the commitment on Palestine partition, he backtracked on that and dealt the U.N. a very serious blow. He's been talking about his pro-labor policies, but may I point out that it was President Truman that proposed a labor draft for the railroad men to put them into the army if they were not willing to have their strike broken?

He's been talking about his views on price controls, and I want to point out that while it was the Republicans who first dealt it a serious blow, it was President Truman who finally removed the rest of the price controls. He's been talking about all these things. And we do have here a picture of a man of good impulse, a weak man, a small man, and a man who is surrounded by ruthless and strong advisers. (*Applause.*)

Senator Myers: Nevertheless, Max, it looks as if you're going to be with us in November, because you say he's a giant compared to every Republican candidate. It's all right about these things that he didn't do, but he certainly, with a Republican Congress, advocated this legislation that I've outlined, and when he could use his veto, he's used his veto in blocking legislation that might interfere with our economy.

I think he's been following the

Roosevelt tradition. And I think too many of our liberals are just lost. They're thinking of the golden voice, as I said before, and they forget that Roosevelt left us an inheritance and a heritage, and it is our job to preserve that heritage.

And I might say, too, that we've done very well in our reconversion from war to peace. We've reconverted to an economy of 60 million jobs and a national income of more than 200 billions of dollars. And that takes ability, and that takes confidence, and that takes courage, and Harry Truman has all of them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Arnall: I want to say, Mr. Kaltenborn, that so far Harry Truman has been compared to an ideal, perfect Republican opponent. But when the Republican convention meets and they make their nomination, then it is that Max Lerner and Governor Laney and the other good Democrats will be back in the fold, because they, in my judgment, will undertake to write a platform having something in it to appeal to everyone, meaning everything to no one, whereby the Democrats will again unify and win the election behind Truman.

Governor Laney: If President Truman is the powerful man that Governor Arnall and Senator Myers say he is, why have they made all of the apologies for him at this time? Senator Myers made

a statement here. He says that he didn't get anything out of this Congress. Where was President Truman the first two years that he served with a Democratic Congress? The Congress did not become Republican until the first of January, 1947. Governor Arnall admits the weakness of President Truman, but in his eagerness to win says that we must go along. I do not see that point.

Mr. Kaltenborn: Do you have any comment, Governor Arnall?

Mr. Arnall: I am a political realist. I know that Truman will be nominated, and I know that if the Democratic party is to win, we've got to support Truman. Of course, he's no perfect man. He's human, and in being human he will have a large appeal to many of us who are also human.

Mr. Lerner: I would like to make one comment on something Governor Laney said. He said that even with a Democratic Congress that President Roosevelt was able to govern with the same kind of Democratic majority that President Truman had. I'd like to point out to Governor Laney that the problem isn't just getting a Democratic majority. It's getting a Democratic majority big enough to counter-balance the natural alliance of the Republicans and the Tory Southern Democrats who form the real coalition, the reactionary coalition in the South. I think that should be stressed.

Senator Myers says we ought to elect President Truman and a big Democratic majority in Congress. The point is, he hasn't got the strength to sweep in that Democratic majority, and the only chance we have is to get a man—call him a glamour boy, call him anything, call him idealist—who can sweep in that kind of Democratic majority and really govern the country, not be a prisoner of the Republicans and a prisoner of Secretary Forrestal.

Mr. Kaltenborn: We have just time for one brief word from Governor Arnall.

Mr. Arnall: But you cannot defeat someone with no one. I'm waiting for Max Lerner and Governor Laney to agree on a candidate.

Mr. Lerner: May I say that we have already agreed on one man, and if Governor Laney were willing, we could agree on two. *(Laughter.)*

Mr. Kaltenborn: I'm sorry, gentlemen, we've got to carry on. Thank you. And now while we get ready for our question period, I am sure that you, our listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air originating in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where we are the guests of the Evans F. Carlson Chapter of the American Veterans Committee and Station WHGI.

We are discussing the question, "Whom Should the Democrats Nominate for President?" You have just heard from Senator Francis J. Myers, Governor Ben T. Laney, Ellis Arnall, and Max Lerner.

We are about to take questions from our audience. In the meantime, let me remind you that for your convenience we print each week, a complete text, including the questions and answers, in the Town Meeting Bulletin, which you may secure by writing to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. If you would like to subscribe to the Bulletin for six months, enclose \$2.35, or for a year, send \$4.50. Or, if you would like a trial sub-

scription, enclose \$1 for eleven issues.

Although many of you are making your plans for your summer vacation, remember your Town Meeting continues throughout the year, and the march of events this summer will be more interesting and important than usual. The conventions of the two major political parties will be held this summer, and your Town Meeting will be discussing candidates and issues that will help you to exercise your responsibilities as a citizen of this great democracy. We will continue to select programs based on your opinions as expressed in the weekly ballots from Town Meeting audiences in our cities.

Now, for our question period, we return you to Mr. Kaltenborn.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Kaltenborn: The American Veterans' Committee and Station WHGB have assembled a fine audience for us here in Harrisburg at the Harrisburg Forum. Many of the members of the audience are now holding up number cards to indicate the person to whom their question is directed. Our assistants are in the aisles with portable microphones, and we'll start with a question from the gentleman right in front here wearing the gray coat. Your question is addressed to Governor Laney?

Man: That's correct. Governor Laney, when civil rights have a greater popular appeal than a program without civil rights, how can any candidate be elected on a program without civil rights?

Gov. Laney: The proper solution for this question is to adopt the old democratic principle of letting the majority rule. If the people of this nation want civil rights, why not submit an amendment to the Constitution and let the people adopt it? If that is done, we of the South have no objection to it. No candidate should

have any objection to risking this matter to the people of this nation.

Lady: Mr. Arnall, can Truman win if nominated, after sanctioning the issuing of injunctions by one man, Goldsborough, against millions of workers?

Mr. Arnall: Yes, I think that Truman can win. I would not be advocating that the Democrats nominate him if he could not win. There are many who agree with his policies; some disagree with some details of them. But looking at the over-all picture, his record is good. He will win.

Man: Mr. Lerner. Has Mr. Truman been handicapped and declared unsuccessful because of an uncooperative Republican Congress which acted for the Republican party and not the welfare of all?

Mr. Lerner: I think that's part of the answer, but let's remember that President Roosevelt also had an uncooperative coalition of Republicans and Tory Democrats, which acted against the welfare of the nation, but he was able to govern. I don't say that's the only thing, but I think that the crucial reason why President Truman has lost his prestige is that he has not shown the vision or the strength to hold together what I call the "great coalition"—the great coalition of labor, the trade unions, the farming groups, the minority groups, the independent liberals,

the internationalist-minded people who formed Roosevelt's strength and must form the strength of any liberal Democrat, I don't care who he is. And without that great coalition, in all deference to Ellis Arnall, without that great coalition, to say that Truman can win is whistling in the dark.

Lady: Senator Myers, why did President Truman wait until the week before Congress adjourned to go to the people with issues demanding Congressional action?

Senator Myers: What difference does it matter that he waited till that time? He's been making his talks, he's been talking to the people, he's been telling the Congress, delivering message after message to the Congress, and telling them to do something about inflation. Finally, he determined to go to the people while the Congress was in session.

He's being criticized by many members of the Congress because he has had the intestinal fortitude to go out to the people of America and tell them what he thinks of the Congress, and I'm in accord with what the President of the United States is saying about the 80th Congress. I think it's a damn nothing Congress that might almost be called a "Tobacco Road Congress. (*Applause.*)

Man: Governor Laney, you man would favor preservation of the right of all to work together harmoniously. How is this real

possible without an FEPC and a civil rights program?

Gov. Laney: I can best answer that by asking how could people work harmoniously together under the FEPC, which would mean the taking over by the Federal Government and establishing men in all sections of the state to see that you and I in our profession or in our work or in our pleasure conform to certain regulations laid down by a commission established and in session at Washington all the time. You could not have harmony with complete Federal control. That's my objection to FEPC.

Mr. Lerner: I'd like to point out to Governor Laney that we have an actual laboratory of this in New York State. We have the Ives-Quinn law. It does establish what is in effect an FEPC against discrimination on jobs. They do work and live together much more harmoniously under that than they ever did before. (*Applause.*)

May I say that for an American who is a Negro, or a Catholic, or a Jew, or whatever other minority group it may be, it is very crucial to understand that you are living in a country in which you have the protection of the law, in which you have equality of opportunity under the law, and I don't think what Governor Laney is saying about the tyranny of laws comes with good grace in a democracy which is a democracy of laws and not of men. (*Applause.*)

Lady: Mr. Max Lerner. Do you think President Truman would stand a better chance to be nominated if he would clearly state his foreign policy toward Russia?

Mr. Lerner: I think President Truman has stated his foreign policy toward Russia. That's one of the counts I have against him, that it isn't one foreign policy but it's two foreign policies, and that they're contradictory. The only one you notice that Senator Myers mentioned, and he was very discreet about it, was the Marshall Plan, which makes sense because it means real economic aid, real economic reconstruction of Europe as a method of getting the allegiance of the European people. But there's another part of Truman's foreign policy, and that's the Truman Doctrine. That's military intervention in Greece and Turkey and China. That's the switch on Palestine. *That* part of President Truman's foreign policy is not one which liberals commend. (*Applause.*)

Senator Myers: Of course, our whole purpose of the foreign policy of the United States is to try to keep the world at peace. We believe that by the over-all foreign policy we can contain Russia. We can prevent them from constantly moving forward enveloping Italy, France, and the continent, and then we believe through this Marshall Plan that it's possible for us to at last have economic freedom

in Europe. If we do that, we'll have economic freedom here; we'll have peace in the world. And I believe the foreign policy of this government, which is supported by many Republicans in the Congress, and I would say supported by nine-tenths of the Democrats in the Congress, is the foreign policy that's supported by an overwhelming number of the people of the United States.

Mr. Lerner: What Senator Myers has just said, after lambasting the Republicans through most of his earlier talk, the reason he now gives for thinking that President Truman's foreign policy is good is that the Republicans support it.

Senator Myers: I said a very small fraction of the Republicans, a small minority, practically all of the Democrats and, I believe the great majority of the people of the United States, believe in the foreign policy of this government.

Mr. Lerner: Senator Myers, just a factual matter. Not a *small* fraction of the Republicans, but *most* of the Republicans who regard Truman as their man on this issue.

Senator Myers: Why, Mr. Kaltenborn, in the Congress of the United States, within the last week, an overwhelming number—a majority in the House of Representatives—tried to cripple the Marshall Plan by reducing the appropriations. A majority—an overwhelming majority of the Repub-

licans in the House of Representatives—tried to ruin and cripple the reciprocal trade program which is part of our foreign policy. The Republicans in '40 and '44 and today are an isolationist party. A few of them, a very few of them support the President.

Mr. Kaltenborn: This is a fascinating argument. It could continue for a long time, but there's a charming young lady here, a beautiful blonde lady in a white dress, who looks as though she might promote harmony by addressing a question to Governor Laney.

Lady: Governor Laney, if you don't think President Truman is qualified for the nomination, who would you suggest be nominated?

Gov. Laney: I have reserved that. It doesn't make a great deal of difference to me who is nominated for the presidency just so as he is a good Democrat, if he has ability, if he's capable, if he stands for a certain principle, and is willing to make a fight to restore the Democratic party.

Mr. Arnall: Yes. I insist that if Max Lerner and Governor Laney can't agree on a candidate other than Eisenhower, who is unavailable, how is the convention going to agree on anyone except Truman? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: We'll now go back to the audience. The gentleman who has the card that

addressed to Governor Laney, please.

Man: Governor Laney, would not a strict interpretation of the Constitution, particularly the Bill of Rights, destroy your position on civil rights? (*Applause.*)

Gov. Laney: Let me read you from the Constitution. This is Amendment No. 10. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." That's my answer.

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Lerner. By stating your belief that Eisenhower is available, what specifically makes you feel that he would accept the Democratic nomination if the Democrats should nominate him?

Mr. Lerner: I've said before, I have no pipeline to General Eisenhower's mind. I don't know that he would accept. I simply say that if you study carefully the statement he made when he refused the Republican nomination, you'll find a very crucial clause in it that he would not be candidate for a public office except at a time of crisis and on a matter of emergency. And I would say that the leadership of the greatest nation in the world at a time of great crisis was a matter of emergency.

And I would like, if you will allow me, Mr. Moderator, to make one thing clear on the various

things that have been hurled at me.

Mr. Kaltenborn: Well, if you can do it in ten seconds.

Mr. Lerner: No, I couldn't make anything clear in ten seconds. (*Laughter.*) It took more than that to hurl them at me. If you want more questions, it's all right.

Mr. Kaltenborn: I'm sorry. I've got just time for one final question and we'll give a woman the last word. She has a question for Senator Myers.

Lady: Does the Senator infer that the name Roosevelt-Truman be put up for nomination, or is Truman man enough to stand on his own feet? (*Applause.*)

Senator Myers: I believe he's man enough to stand on his own feet, but I believe that these are the Roosevelt-Truman doctrines, the Roosevelt-Truman program, and he's honestly endeavoring to carry out that Roosevelt tradition and that Roosevelt program.

Mr. Kaltenborn: Thank you, Senator Myers. Now, while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here is a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Tonight, our discussion has centered largely on personalities. During the months ahead and before the election on November 2, we will want to discuss the major issues in the campaign, and we would like to hear from you, our listeners, about the

issues you think are most important in the coming election.

Until all the candidates have been selected, the issues may not be entirely clear, but we would welcome the expression of your opinion from now on as to the issues you think will be most important in this campaign. Aside from foreign policy, what domestic issues do you consider most important and on which event do you think it is most urgent to have the candidates express themselves? You can help us select subjects and speakers if you will send your opinions to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and give us the benefit of your ideas.

Remember, this is your Town Meeting. This is your country, and if you don't participate in the solution of our problems, there are always self-interested pressure groups ready to take over when the average citizen neglects his responsibility. Now, for the summaries of tonight's discussion, here is Mr. Kaltenborn.

Mr. Kaltenborn: Our first summary tonight is to come from Max Lerner.

Mr. Lerner: Senator Myers has said repeatedly that it's a question of the Roosevelt tradition. I agree with him. He's right. This isn't a question of whom the South will support. It's a question of whom the great overwhelming mass of American liberals will support.

I say that in a period of great crisis like ours, we cannot be content with second best. The Democrats have potential leadership that is first best, that is really in the Roosevelt tradition. I am talking of Justice Douglas. It's a problem of whether they will be great enough to call on that leadership in the convention. If they fail to call on the leadership, they will at the supreme moment of history have surrendered the last best hope of earth to the petty niggling politics of the Republicans. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: Thank you Max Lerner. And now, Governor Arnall, please.

Mr. Arnall: Truman will receive the Democratic nomination. His record in the main has been good. Russia's aggression has been checked, Truman has fought courageously for the little man. The Democratic party cannot repudiate its own candidate and its own record, without disaster. So in November, we will count on Governor Laney and Max Lerner and all the other good, loyal Democrats to support Truman and the Democratic ticket. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: Thank you Ellis Arnall. And now, Governor Laney, what is your final word?

Gov. Laney: The Democratic party is split asunder already. The question is to get it back together. I want to quote you Calvin

Coolidge. It gives something of my ideals. I'm not a Republican, but it's good, even it did come from a Republican.

"No method of procedure has ever been devised by which liberty could be divorced from local self-government. No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction, and decline. While we ought to glory in the Union and remember that it is the source from which the States derive their chief title to fame, we must also recognize that the national administration is not and cannot be adjusted to the needs of local government."

Mr. Kaltenborn: Thank you, Governor Laney. Senator Myers, you have the last word.

Senator Myers: This unseemly panic of so many of our so-called party leaders and liberals to fasten on to some glamour personality, whose views are unknown to us, whose degree of devotion to the Roosevelt Democratic policy is a complete mystery, is the sort of defeatism the Republican party would love to see spread among us.

We will save the Roosevelt program, so battered and bleeding from the assaults of this reaction-

ary Republican Congress, and we will put it back to business at the old stand, at the New Deal stand, under Harry Truman and a Democratic Congress. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Kaltenborn: Thank you Senator Myers, Governor Laney, Ellis Arnall, and Max Lerner. I want to thank also our hosts, the American Veterans' Committee, and station WHGB.

If some of you wondered why Town Meeting is coming all the way back to Bound Brook, New Jersey, next week from Denver, where it originated last week, it is because of a very special program which has been arranged by Town Hall in cooperation with the Somerset County Community Forum. Our subject will be, "Are You Preparing to Grow Old Successfully?" Our speakers will be Senator Claude Pepper, Democrat, of Florida, Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of Eastman Kodak Company, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of *The Christian Herald*, and Eugene J. Kenney, former assistant treasurer of the Standard Oil Company of New York. Dr. George Lawton, psychologist, will serve as interrogator. Mr. Denny will be your moderator. So plan to be with us next Tuesday and every Tuesday at the sound of the crier's bell.



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